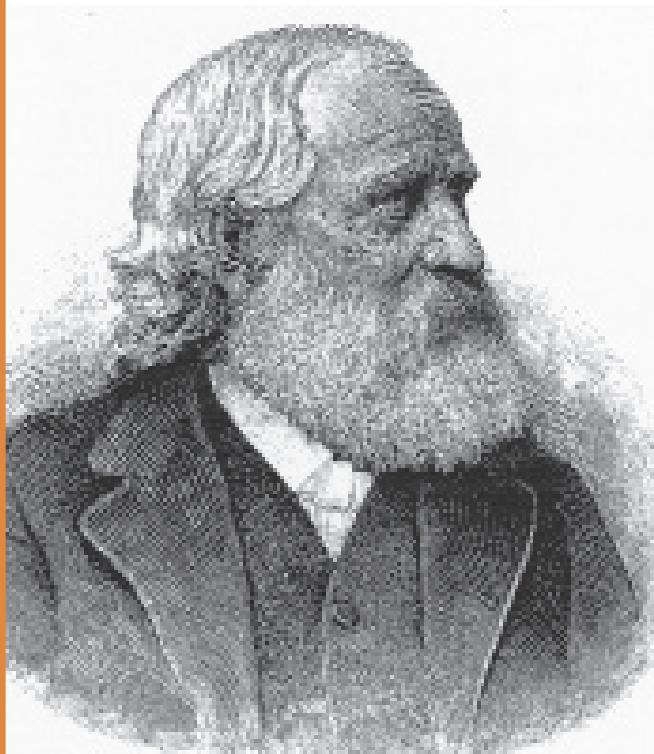


# Adolf Douai

Testimony to the  
United States Senate  
on behalf of the  
Socialist Labor Party of America,  
New York City, Sept. 20, 1883



# REPORT

OF THE

## COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE

UPON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN

# LABOR AND CAPITAL,

AND

## TESTIMONY TAKEN BY THE COMMITTEE.

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IN FIVE VOLUMES.

**VOLUMES I, II, III, AND IV, AND PART OF VOLUME V, TESTIMONY;**  
**VOLUME V, REPORT OF COMMITTEE.**

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### MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

48TH CONGRESS.

**HENRY W. BLAIR**, of New Hampshire, **CHAIRMAN**;  
**WILLIAM MAHONE**, of Virginia;  
**WARNER MILLER**, of New York;  
**NELSON W. ALDRICH**, of Rhode Island;  
**THOMAS M. BOWEN**, of Colorado;  
**JAMES Z. GEORGE**, of Mississippi;  
**WILKINSON CALL**, of Florida;  
**JAMES L. PUGH**, of Alabama;  
**JAMES B. GROOME**, of Maryland.

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### **VOLUME II—Testimony.**

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1885.

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NEW YORK, *September 20, 1883.*

**Dr. A. DOUAI** affirmed and examined

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Please state your residence.—Answer. My residence is in Williamsburg, or what is called "Brooklyn, E. D."

Q. In what capacity do you appear before the committee?—A. I appear in the capacity of representative of the Socialistic Labor Party of the United States.

Q. You are deputed by them to represent them here?—A. Yes; I am deputed by them to represent their interests and demands here.

The **CHAIRMAN**. You may proceed in your own way, and say to the committee what you think to be pertinent, as the representative of your body and as instructed, to the committee under this resolution of the Senate, which, I suppose, you have seen.

The **WITNESS**. I have seen the resolution.

#### SPREAD OF SOCIALISM.

The Socialistic Labor Party is not spread over the United States solely, but also all over Europe. It consists in Germany, for instance, where it took its origin, of perhaps a million voters. In France the number cannot be much less. It is little spread in England, but it is well represented there. It is well represented in the south of Europe—in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, even in the Balkan Peninsula. It is largely spread in Russia and Poland. It has adherents in Denmark and Sweden.

## THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY: WHAT IT IS.

The party is two things; that is, it is a scientific propaganda society and has existed as such for about twenty years. It was founded by two remarkable writers and agitators, whose merits are acknowledged by all scientific men who know anything about political economy and political science—Karl Marx, the author of the celebrated work “Das Kapital,” or capital, and Ferdinand Lassalle, a pupil of Marx—and several more fellow-writers and agitators.

On the other hand, the party is an evolutionary and revolutionary society. It is evolutionary as long as it can be so, as it is left to itself, and as it has liberty of speech and action; revolutionary—like all natural laws—when it can no longer act freely, but is forced into action. Then it will respond to that call. The political economy which Karl Marx teaches is contrary to all present political economy, or what is called such. I shall, perhaps, need more than an hour to explain it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may have what time you please.

The WITNESS. I will try to make it as clear and concise as possible, and I hope it will interest every one of you gentlemen, since it is a party (and a science at the same time) so very largely represented in Europe and growing in the United States.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY NOT ALWAYS THE SAME.

Present political economy takes it for granted that its laws, or what it so calls, have existed at all times in the same way; have been the same laws under all forms of civilization and culture.

## KARL MARX'S VIEWS.

Karl Marx is the first man that says that this is a total error. There have been at varying periods of time different kinds or systems of production. But we may, for the sake of convenience, classify these different periods into three.

## THE THREE HISTORIC PERIODS OF PRODUCTION.

## I. THE SLAVE PERIOD.

The earliest of these was the period of Slavery, when all production was carried on by slaves, in a way well known to every one of our contemporaries in the United States. At that time very few riches could exist in the world; production was small, and men were working only for the daily wants of life. There was but little commerce in the world.

## II. THE FEUDAL PERIOD.

The second period was the Feudal period of production, in which the laborer was no longer enslaved, but was bound to the soil—bound to a certain vocation or calling—bound to a certain market, wherein to sell his merchandise and wherein to buy his merchandise, but otherwise provided for by law; nobody could be entirely helpless. There was provision made for any class of society. The means of labor did not belong at that time, as private property, to anybody, or only very exceptionally so. The land belonged to all the members of a community, or to all the communes within a state or nation. Just so the moneyed capital of the nation belonged more or less, or was, at least, applicable

to all the wants of all the people. There was provision made, in short, for everybody within the community. But there was no freedom of movement or of action for the laborer, while, of course, it was always existing for the ruling classes. This period had an end about the time of the Reformation and of the discovery of America.

### III. THE CAPITALISTIC PERIOD.

The third is called the Capitalistic period, or kind of production. It began in different countries at different times, but is now spread all over the civilized world.

#### THE TERM CAPITAL.

I must premise here that Karl Marx understands by the term "capital" quite a different thing from what other writers understand. In fact, common writers in political economy use the term in four or five different senses—now in the one and then in the other, and thereby create a confusion of ideas of which it may be said that it is startling that it has not sooner been criticised. The world had to wait for Karl Marx to direct its attention to this very strange proceeding. Capital is, in the sense of Karl Marx (as later on I shall prove), that portion of the proceeds of labor, which is robbed by the employer of labor under the forms of law, and by the aid of which new production is carried on. I break off here on this point because the evidence will come afterward.

#### HISTORICAL NECESSITY FOR EACH PERIOD.

So Karl Marx, by teaching that there are or have been three different kinds of production in the world, and that they may co-exist in the world here and there in remnants of old periods—by teaching this, he exhibits first his whole system as a system of natural laws of evolution.

In the opinion of Karl Marx there is a natural, a historical necessity for each of these developments. They are created by the progress of science and of technical inventions and discoveries, and they are made possible by certain kinds of political forms which are consequences of the kind of production. In fact all ideal forms of society, religion, jurisprudence—technical institutions—education, every ideal interest in society depends upon the kind of production. Each will create its own forms of evolution. It will sometimes create them by revolution, just as forces of nature work usually, slowly and easily, but, at times, will work revolutionarily. And so there has never been a progress from one form of production in society to the other without a forcible revolution. As Karl Marx expresses it, "force has always been the midwife of new forms of society and institutions."

#### REFORMS NOT THE WORK OF SINGLE MINDS.

It is a consequence of this view that a revolution cannot be made or that the world cannot be reformed by the whims and ideas of single discoverers or inventors, or "improvers of the world," as he calls them. You know now-a-days everybody has his own *recipe* for reforming the world—for improving society. We call those, after the precedents of Karl Marx, Utopias. The world cannot be reformed in that way. It must reform itself, it must bide its time, and then it will come forth by its very inborn, inherent necessities by the wants of the people, by the progress of the times in general.

## THE CONSERVATIVES ARE THE REAL REVOLUTIONISTS.

When it comes in a revolutionary form then it is always conjured up not by the progressive part of society, but by their adversaries—by the conservative part of society. It is they who become the first revolutionists.

In order to make that clear by an example, I will refer to the United States war about slavery. All gentlemen of your ages must recollect how it came about. It came about by Mr. Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas and Nebraska bill. The Abolitionists would never have made a revolution—in fact they despaired of seeing slavery abolished during their lives—say within thirty or forty years. When I was part of the Abolitionist party in Texas—in the den of the lion—thirty years ago, I despaired of seeing the days of the abolition of slavery. But Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas and Nebraska bill, which was a revolutionary act on the part of the South or in its behalf (for it was taken to mean a revolution in favor of the South), brought about the reaction not only of the Abolitionist party, but of the whole North. You see, an evolution was going on for thirty years, but the revolution was introduced and set into action by the Conservative party; and it was a necessity which excited, which forced, the North to respond by a war, which, however, was brought upon the country by the South itself. By this example you will understand the position in which the socialistic labor party and Karl Marx stand with regard to evolution and revolution. I will now continue my elucidation:

Karl Marx calls it a very strange one-sidedness of the Anglo-Saxon character—that it cannot analyze well, cannot trace facts backward into their constituent elements, so as to derive the law underlying them, and draw correct conclusions inductively, although “induction” was invented in England. This is necessary before all things in a new science like political economy. You must first understand the facts before you can draw conclusions from them and evolve laws that hold good or are to hold good for future production.

## WHAT IS WEALTH.

Karl Marx begins then with asking: What is wealth? Well, now a days, he says, wealth consists of merchandise; all things are merchandise, even the labor of man. The laborer himself is a piece of merchandise under the present form of production. The elementary form of wealth then is a single form of merchandise.

## TWO KINDS OF VALUE.

You may now ask how comes value to exist—value of which, of course, political economy has to explain all the origin and all the consequences. He says, that looking at a merchandise, you cannot see how it gets a value. One merchandise appears at a first glance of as great a value as another. But we distinguish two kinds of value. We distinguish the value which every merchandise must have, the value of *use*—only useful things that administer to the wants of *every* man can be merchandise. But there is another kind of value—that is, the value of *exchange*.

How does it come about that there is such a value which can be measured, so that one merchandise may be exchanged for any other

one! It is not in the merchandise itself that we find it. (You see the analysis of this; step by step is made very cautiously—he proves what he says.) Then he goes on to say it must be in the mind of man that the idea of value exists—in the minds of those men who carry on exchange. And the value is not in the things themselves that are exchanged, but it is in the ideas of man, of the general usefulness of those things and of the measure of usefulness for the individual wants. A and B begin to exchange. A will give a merchandise for which he has no use, but for which B may have use. And he desires instead from B a merchandise which A will find useful to himself. The exchange comes about if A is able, in a given time, to produce more of that kind of merchandise than B would produce, and if B is at the same time able to produce more of his kind of merchandise than A would produce. So the two can agree very well, and with profit to each other to exchange.

#### TIME THE MEASURE OF VALUE.

The common measure, then, of value in exchange consists in time. Time is the measure of value. You see all political economists before Marx could not find that out—could not establish that. This was done by analysis of all the processes. I give the matter only in the shortest outline. I cannot give all the details of his conclusion.

Now, he goes on to ask himself, “Is, then, an equivalent always given if merchandise is exchanged?” Why, certainly there is, or the exchange would not come to pass, as a rule at least. Then, if there is always an equivalent given in exchange, or at least is meant to be given, how is it that we find cases in the world where there are no equivalents given? As, for instance, when labor is engaged, everybody knows, from his own experience, that labor produces more than it gets wages for. No political economist before Marx ever explained that. Marx goes on to analyze the several constituents which make merchandise.

#### ANALYSIS OF MERCHANTISE.

You have, first, the raw material, together with auxiliary materials, that are transformed into new merchandise. That is one element. The second is labor, which transforms the material. The third is capital, pre-existing, which sets labor into motion and which buys the materials and which takes care of all the means of production. Now, he analyzes: “Is all the value refunded in the merchandise that was before in the raw material and in the auxiliary materials?” He finds that it is refunded. No new value is added to the raw materials themselves; that is, it is not added except it be added by labor.

#### THE PORTION OF LABOR.

Labor, does it get its equivalent? Well, political economists tell us that it does, and every employer nowadays believes that he gives an equivalent for labor. It is the common impression of our age. *Labor gets just that which is necessary to produce new labor*, to sustain the laborer and his family according to the contemporary wants of a laborer of that nation and of that kind of laborer. So, political economy declares that because labor is always reproduced at its real cost, like any merchandise (for in the ultimate everything comes down in price to its lowest possible cost) that because labor comes down to its lowest possible cost, it is paid its equivalent.

## THE PORTION OF CAPITAL.

On the other hand, capital always takes care to have its equivalent by means of interest. So, after analyzing these elements, Marx finds yet no explanation of how it comes that labor is not really paid an equivalent; that more is produced than was before in existence; that here the only exchange takes place which makes of less more, which creates from nothing *something*.

## THE APPEAL TO FACTS.

Well, he says we must look to experience; we must look to the facts; we must go to the shop and examine what is going on there. And, having done so, we find that after six hours of labor the laborer has produced just enough, by creating new merchandise, to refund all that which his labor costs to the employer. Well, does the employer then send him home? No, gentlemen, he keeps him in for twelve hours, if he can—it used to be fourteen or sixteen hours. Our bakers nowadays work seventeen hours as a rule. Our conductors work as many hours as that, as a rule. Capital keeps him just as long as it can.

Well, then, what does capital do with the balance of the merchandise which labor has produced in the length of the day? It appropriates it. So says Marx. And *there* is the discovery of the secret of what capital is.

## THE APPEAL TO HISTORY.

First, however, he looks back into history. Whenever he analyzes, mathematically and philosophically, any notion, any subject, he then looks back into history to see whether of old time it was the same way, or whether it was different. At the period when feudal labor, which was provided for, and which never could be helpless, was changed gradually into capitalistic labor, no new foundation of society was provided for. All the soil had been appropriated. All the moneyed capital had been appropriated. Education had become private property, and was, even so to say, a secret art. All the means of production then belonged to a class, or to several classes—of course the ruling classes—the learned, the powerful classes. What was left for the workingman? Well, nothing but his working force—the force existing in him, and the possibility of procreating children to continue the possibility of labor. He had to sell that from day to day to procure his wants, because he had not the means of labor. The means of labor consist in land, in moneyed capital, and all other such things, as machines, tools, houses, &c.; and that is what a laborer had not left to him.

## FREE LABOR.

This disinherited labor was declared to be free labor. You see the term “free” was here remarkable. That labor was free—yes, to starve! It was free to kill itself—free to overwork itself—free to sell even its freedom away—to enslave itself. But it was not free to do with its powers mentally and bodily as it pleased. It had to take such labor as came to hand. The laborer was entirely at the mercy of that part of his own labor which was before created by him but appropriated by capital—robbed under the form of law. “It that so, or not so?” Marx asks. Well, he has never been refuted. It stands out boldly as a fact

that only one man dared to criticise him; but for the most part he had to acknowledge the truths which he found analyzed, and took exception only to two or three points in Marx's book, which, however, the critic misunderstood. After having been corrected about his mistake, he became still, and never said anything more against Karl Marx.

Political economy thus, like the ostrich, hides its head under its wings and feigns not to see its enemy, or to notice that there is danger ahead.

But our laborers study this book of Marx, let me tell you, thousands and thousands of them, and understand it, although it is very deep and sometimes contains foreign expressions; they study it by reading it over and over again, and they understand it, I assure you, even if they cannot explain it as I am able to do. Professor Schaeffle, of Vienna, was the only man that attacked it, the same man who had been state minister of Austria.

#### SUPPLY AND DEMAND CONSIDERED.

Mr. Schaeffle says there is another element in the production of wealth besides labor, that one which Adam Smith had already taught us to understand. It is the relation between demand and supply that adjusts values, and creates prices, and rewards labor, always according to its merit, and rewards capital according to its merit. Remark well: Adam Smith, in the introduction of his work, had said that "labor creates all wealth," but afterwards breaks off from that topic and says it is the law of supply and demand. Marx does not even deign to refute Smith, except occasionally in some hints. From his standpoint, however, it is not true. Mankind has always falsified supply and demand by laws—artificial human laws. Who proves that there is not enough wheat in the country if the harvest should fail? Who proves that this is the fault of the weather alone? In every circumstance in which a failure of crops may harm society, human laws are coworking with nature, and increasingly so. And the laws create circumstances—create states of things through which the laws of nature become dangerous, which they are not in themselves. Nature is more productive of merchandise, of its own free gifts, under the hand of human labor than is wanted for the sustenance of human society.

#### THE DIRECTING FUNCTION OF CAPITAL CONSIDERED.

Another objection is made, the objection that capital adds something to value by intelligently directing blind labor. Of course it does; but it does not employ its own intelligence, since no one ever knew that capital had an intelligence. It employs scientific men, technical men, skillful laborers of all kinds; and in many cases it has refrained from doing so, and has suppressed useful inventions and discoveries; the discoverers and inventors rarely got the chief portion of the proceeds of the new inventions and applications. Capital always got the lion's share, and the discoverer, as a rule, little or nothing. But, even if there were some very intelligent capitalists, and even if they paid the inventors and the leaders of their technical institutions very liberally, not even these inventors, not even these scientific men are the possessors, the only owners of their science and their advantages. The human mind has invented them all in a long, long course of development, and every new scientist and inventor adds only a very little on the top of all that which preceding mankind has invented for the benefit of all mankind.

**And it is robbing all mankind, not only the present labor, but all mankind for the present and the future time, to appropriate that not to the scientific man, but to capital, which has no merit of itself.**

#### REWARD OF CAPITAL FOR NON-CONSUMPTION.

Another objection was made, and that is that capital must have something as a reward for not using up—for not consuming—the wealth created by new merchandise; it must be rewarded for employing it for new production. Mr. Vanderbilt might at any time go and spend his hundred millions according to his own pleasure, and not produce anything, simply waste it; and the world would be worse for that. To this Karl Marx and his school object, that it would be better if all the present capitalists and all their wealth in money and all their landed titles and all that may be called in any way capital, were taken away—were exiled from the country. Labor would procreate, within a few years, every vestige of it, and increase it; double it; make it tenfold larger, and would be free thenceforth.

I must break off here with the theory. The applications of it which are made in the agitations of our party are in some respects different from the views which common labor organizations are in the habit of taking. But there are so many points on which our party takes a slightly different view, that I should prefer to be asked questions how from our standpoint all the topics of labor may be justified.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY TENDING TO MAKE CAPITAL COMMON PROPERTY.

I will, in general, only say now, about the practical agitation of our party, what follows: Labor, we think, is always in the right, because it was originally defrauded of its human inheritance. Capital has expropriated it, and is every day expropriating other capital; accumulating the capital of others. Capital has expropriated so much that it takes a long time to do to labor what is right. Our party, furthermore, insists upon it that only in the future state of society, in which capital shall be no longer private property, but common property, can all wrongs be redressed; a state of society which will be brought about not by our individual efforts so much as by the development of history, but which seems not to be far off. In the mean time, however, millions of laborers would go down, utterly down, and would be unable to see the better times coming, or to do something toward emancipating labor itself, if there were none of present demands fulfilled which they make at the hands of the state and of society.

#### THE DEMANDS OF THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

All these present demands you know quite well, I suppose.

One of these is that the right of suffrage shall be in nowise abridged. Political equality before the law for all citizens, without regard to creed, race, or sex, is insisted upon.

The establishment of a national ministry of labor is insisted upon.

All conspiracy laws operating against the rights of workingmen must be repealed. Of course, our party approves Senator Blair's bill for the incorporation of labor societies, of trades unions, heartily supports it.

Congress should provide for the immediate creation of a national bureau of labor statistics.

The rigid enforcement of the eight-hour law of Congress in all national public works is demanded.

We also demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States declaring eight hours to be a legal day's work in all industrial employments. What is not yet in the platform is the application of this same eight-hour law to all work which States and communities have now performed for them by means of contracts. They ought to be performed either under the eight-hour law or given to trade societies to perform under contract.

All uncultivated land should be taxed equally with cultivated land in the same locality.

The Government alone should issue all money, and such right should not be delegated to any bank or private corporation.

The socialistic labor party is struggling to secure the following measures in those States in which they are not now the law, namely:

State bureaus of labor statistics.

Eight hours as a legal working day, and strict punishment of all violators of the same.

The abolishment of the system of hiring out the labor of convicts in prisons and reformatory institutions.

Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence to the injury of their employés. And it ought to be added, and will be added, that the burden of proof as to who is in fault ought not to be imposed on the injured laborer, but on the employer.

Another legal restriction is demanded, that of the labor of children under fourteen years of age. You know that this has been secured in the State of New Jersey, chiefly through the action of our party.

They demand universal compulsory education, and all schooling material to be furnished at public expense.

They demand factory, mine, and workshop inspection and sanitary supervision of all these places, and of dwellings.

They demand that all wages be paid in the legal tender of the land, and that all violations of this law shall be punished.

All ballots to be printed by town and city governments, and ballots containing the names of all public officers to be sent to all voters two days before the election.

All election days to be declared legal holidays.

All property, whether used for religious or secular purposes, to bear its just proportion of taxation.

And last, but not least, entire revision of the United States Constitution, so as to institute entirely popular legislation and enable the people to propose or reject any law at their will, thus absolutely securing self-government.

#### REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT NOT SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Our party maintains that we have not popular self-government. We have only representative government, and the representatives do not represent the will of the people, but of the ruling classes, and this cannot be otherwise if representation is to prevail. At all times those possessing the power of the State possess and use it for their own benefit, and make laws to benefit them exclusively, or almost exclusively.

#### THE LAW OF REFERENDUM.

In Switzerland direct popular legislation has been introduced to some extent during the last ten years. They have a law there called the "Law

**of Referendum,"** and they have another law called the "Law of Popular Initiative." By the *Referendum*, any important law that is before the national legislature (and the same holds good of cantonal legislatures) must, on the demand of a certain number of citizens, be brought before the people to be by them either ratified or rejected.

#### THE LAW OF POPULAR INITIATIVE.

By the law of Initiative the voters themselves, to a certain number—50,000 in Switzerland—may demand the enactment of a certain law, not that it shall be passed entirely in the form in which the people may have put it—the legislature has the right to modify it so as to be in harmony with all the other laws, and not come in conflict with them—but the legislature is obliged to lay it, when finally formulated, again before the people for ratification or rejection. Several times already, I think four or five times, the whole people of Switzerland have given their ratification of or have rejected such general laws. In some of the cantons the institution exists from time immemorial. In others it has been, or is being, introduced. The most beneficial results have come from that.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE "REFERENDUM" AND "INITIATIVE" CONSIDERED.

It might be objected that the people of the United States are not prepared for such a very great change. I maintain that it would not need a revision of the whole Constitution to introduce this reform. Our Constitution is already broken. It is now in some respects a "dead letter." It is no longer a guidance in all our political actions. It has been overridden by the war of slavery, both by the North and the South, and it is a document which is not up to the times. In the one hundred years, or nearly so, since it came into existence, the world has marched a great way, and it is time that it should be revised; yet, an amendment might for the present satisfy all the more pressing demands.

Give the people the power to ratify by Referendum, or to call forth by the Initiative, the more important laws. Then you will know what is really the will of the people. Then the people may be educated to understand the laws and take care of their own interests, to discuss them in their town meetings and in their ward meetings, to form new opinions, and study the new political economy and the new political science which our party tenders them. Thus our agitation might have a peaceable effect. To discuss the way in which that may be introduced before Congress or before the single States is not material here.

By Mr. CALL:

Q. Let me ask you the question right here. Would you allow the right of free speech in those assemblies to discuss the laws?—A. Certainly.

Q. Would you allow everybody the right to advocate or oppose those laws and decide upon their validity?—A. Yes; certainly.

Q. Then you would have to limit the time by a constitutional amendment, or you would never find time to work the things all out.—A. Well, the president of every debating society takes care of the time of debate under well prescribed rules.

Mr. CALL. We can hardly get along in Congress now.

The WITNESS. I want to have that great mass of present legislation rescinded. Most of our laws are utterly useless. But I cannot go into that subject now. There is a good deal of it.

Q. You would have to have a good deal of discussion before every popular assembly, would you not?—A. Yes, sir; that is so as things stand. But I think every conscientious lawyer will say that I am right in this respect. People will thenceforth endeavor to curtail their laws, because they must make them themselves. In fact there is no other means of reformation. Otherwise whatever you can do for the benefit of labor will be a "dead letter."

#### MANY LAWS IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR BECOME DEAD LETTERS.

We have carried a great many laws in several of these State legislatures, and, as you know, we have carried a law in Congress, the eight-hour law, which has been made ineffective. We have, by the legislature of New York, enacted seven or eight laws, and they are now nearly all "dead letters." We have done it in New Jersey, in Massachusetts, in Missouri, and in Ohio. I might quote quite a number of instances. For some time, if the workingmen are very watchful, these laws will be observed, but it takes a great deal of money to do it. It takes constant watchfulness, and it is simply for the reason that our law givers are capitalists or are in the interest of capitalists. As soon as the people ask a right to take part in legislation themselves they will be practical enough to curtail all useless discussion after having carried it on, say, for several weeks, before voting on the proposed law.

#### RELATION OF THOSE LAWS TO PUBLIC OPINION.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. I gather that you have carried these various measures somewhat in advance of public sentiment, by pressure upon the legislatures. If that is not so, why is it that the laws, being enacted as you wanted them, have failed of execution? Why are those laws dead letters?—A. Because it takes a great deal of money and of time for workingmen who are engaged all day long to be so watchful—to take means to have the laws executed in every case.

Q. But the community is made up, not of the workingmen alone, but of all the elements that make society; and in order to enforce a law it is necessary to have a majority of all those influences?—A. So it is now.

Q. It is the majority of public opinion that enforces the law.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, is not the real difficulty this: that as yet the people are not convinced as a whole—the majority of the people are not convinced—that these measures which you have obtained from legislatures and from Congress are the best for the common good, and therefore public opinion fails to come up even to the legislation?—A. Then do you not see that just for that very reason it is the first necessity of successful reform to have a great common agitation through all the country? As soon as you can by agitation set a people thinking hard on the faults and short comings of their constitution and laws, and tell them some better things that you would put in their place, and make them willing to revise the constitution in the sense of the Referendum and Initiative, as they exist in Switzerland—as soon as you do that you have no more to care for the monopolists, for the capitalists. As long as these are in their good right labor will not harm them; but, if otherwise, the majority would have to rule.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, we all agree that the majority or major opinion would have to rule.

## APPLICATION OF THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE.

The question is whether the Referendum or the Initiative will be any better methods of convincing the public mind creating public opinion than the existing method. Now, as bearing upon that, let us say that you have, as you state, already, under our existing methods of enacting laws, secured the enactment of various measures which are in advance of public sentiment, and yet all the time you have had this power of appealing to the people through the press—of disseminating information, of convincing the private judgment of people; you have had all this just as much, it seems to me, as you could have that power if you had this principle of the Initiative for a new law, or of the Referendum in the case of a law already adopted. You could then, it would seem, do nothing only appeal to the people in favor of a certain measure, and show that just so many people wanted it—just as you can now show it by voting for the same doctrine in the platform of a party. I do not see why your new system of reaching public opinion would be any better than the existing system through which you have already secured laws in advance of public opinion. If you have any such reasons I would like to hear them.

**THE WITNESS.** You see, what is my representative's interest may not be my own interest. If he has the legal power to vote not as I want him to vote I may be cheated out of my rights. This is the view of the working people generally, and they are tired of this kind of legislation. They cease to interest themselves in the ward meetings and town meetings, or to think about the laws, or read them through or discuss them, because they see that it is all in vain. There is no opening where they can get through to carry out their own will. You must begin by interesting the people.

**Q.** Is not that because they are in a minority?—**A.** No, sir.

**Q.** Is it not because the doctrine set forth in the law is not really embraced in a majority of public opinion?—**A.** You can know whether they are in the minority by the plan which I suggest. You know people do not stir until they are compelled to stir, and then it is often found that what was apparently the idea of a minority is really the idea of a majority.

You cannot in our present *status* ascertain whether a certain thing is the will of the majority or not. The votes as given for representatives do not indicate all the wishes of the people. The two parties represent the interests of the people so little that nowadays the party platforms are nearly identical—in fact I should like to see any difference that exists between the party platforms. The politicians are all very "good" men of course—all very "learned" men—have all "studied political economy" and they "understand the interests of every branch of labor in the land." You must know that they are made Representatives because they are lawyers—not because they understand anything of political economy or political philosophy. There are exceptions of course; I grant that.

By Mr. CALL:

**Q.** What is your profession, doctor?—**A.** I am a teacher, sir, by profession. Now I am a writer since I am too old to be a teacher. It is time now to have a great agitation among the people as to how they can realize their own will; and if they see that in Switzerland the Referendum and the Initiative have done excellent service, then they will, perhaps, imitate them. They will not be too proud to learn from a republic that is a thousand years older than theirs.

## EFFECTS OF THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE IN SWITZERLAND.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What laws have been adopted by the people of Switzerland under these methods?—A. Laws in favor of labor. Children's labor has been almost entirely forbidden, and women's labor very much restricted before and at times of confinement; the hours of labor for all are regulated, and it is made the duty of the employers to pay damages for those who are hurt in their service.

By Mr. CALL:

Q. How do they enforce the law prohibiting women from working before and after confinement?—A. Oh, I can assure you that laws in Europe are enforced.

Q. Laws are generally enforced by being made punitive on the individual committing the offense. Now, take a woman who is working before or after confinement; it would not do to enforce the law by punishing her for so working.—A. Well, we can leave that to the circumstances of the case and of the time. We need not lose ourselves now in the consideration of single instances. The fact that the law is not yet perfect may be conceded; but the very good will of the Swiss people has been demonstrated by the majorities under which this law was adopted.

Q. How many people are there in Switzerland?—A. Two and a half millions.

Q. How large a territory do they occupy?—A. Well, sir, it is a small territory and a poor territory; but, after all, the surrounding despots fear very much to despoil the Swiss people and appropriate their soil because they fear to get into their confines two and a half millions of free-born men. It is a very important country, not only as an example for other peoples who want to be free, but also by keeping, so to say, the "watch of freedom" in Europe—offering a refuge for the fugitives from political persecution in all other parts of the continent.

Q. The point I wanted to suggest here is whether a law that might be practicable for a people of two and a half millions, occupying a very small territory, would be equally practicable for a population of fifty or one hundred millions of people, occupying a continent?—A. Well, this is an inducement for the fifty or one hundred millions of people to be very sparing about making new laws, and to be very liberal in cutting down the old laws to what is absolutely necessary. This would make, not lawyers, but the people themselves to legislate for themselves, and to legislate for their real wants. You have no other means that can be so effectual.

## POPULAR AGITATION IN THE UNITED STATES CONTRASTED WITH THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE OF SWITZERLAND.

The CHAIRMAN. But in some of our States these laws that you speak of as having been enacted in Switzerland, under this power of the Referendum and Initiative, have been enacted under the existing political forms. I refer to the laws limiting the hours of labor, and regulating the employment of women and children. Such laws have been enacted in several of our States, and so far as concerns the law regulating the hours of labor under the Government, that has been enacted also under our existing constitutional forms. The point I am aiming at is to get you to elucidate in full the reasons which you have for thinking that, in order to obtain the reforms and specific measures you men-

tion as having been secured in Switzerland, it is necessary to amend all our constitutions; it would require such large majorities. The same laws which have been passed by virtue of these provisions of the federal and cantonal legislatures in Switzerland have been already obtained in this country by agitation, and it seems to me the rest might be also obtained without the difficult measure of first amending our State and national constitutions.

The WITNESS. Well, suppose that we do not wait for a revision of the Constitution here. If some of these demands are fulfilled we shall, of course, have to be very watchful; our party and all the other labor organizations will be watchful to prevent their becoming dead letters.

Q. But, you know, after the law has been enacted, whether under the forms you suggest or those now existing, the execution of the laws would still remain.—A. Yes.

Q. Have you any suggestion to offer as to securing a more efficient execution of the law, after it has been once established, by whatever method ?—A. The next thing is to do what the Swiss do, namely, to elect all their officers themselves. No civil-service law will be as good as that. You know, at present, competition is very much furthered by our mode of representation and legislation. As the majority of voters cannot be so easily bought as individual legislators, just so through direct legislation the people may become interested in looking for good representatives—for those who shall represent really their views, and they ought to have the power to recall their representatives if a majority of the voters insist upon it.

#### SOCIALISM DISCUSSED.

By Mr. CALL:

Q. Under your system of government, would the people have any time to work at all; would they not be engaged all the time in matters of State, and electing officers and recalling them, and discussing the laws ?—A. I suppose that when this system is in course of action, once a week in a town meeting, or a ward meeting, would suffice to do those things which belong to the town, or to the ward, respectively, and to attend to their share of the State matters and matters of Congress.

Q. What do you want with a State under that system? Why not have it all in one? Let one answer for all purposes. Wherein is the use of preserving the State and municipal distinctions ?—A. Well, you must make a beginning, and must trust that the people will come up to your expectations. It is useless, of course, to enter into the details of so great a subject here. There are a great many other matters which can be more profitably discussed.

Q. Does your theory ever contemplate a state of war, or is there to be constant peace ?—A. Our theory is, that the world will be at peace whenever the capitalistic production is carried over and converted into communistic production; that is to say, production in which there will be individual property in what is earned by labor only, while that which is necessary to carry on production, or, as we call it, capital, is owned in common by the State, and is given out—hired out, as it were—for a certain consideration from time to time to trade societies, working societies, &c.

#### HOW, UNDER SOCIALISM, EACH MAN'S SHARE WOULD BE REGULATED.

Q. How, under your communistic system, are you going to regulate the share which each man is to get for his production; how could you, as an

intellectual laborer—for you would not be an industrial laborer—get your share?—A. Our teachers, those to whom I belong, know quite well what I am worth as a teacher, and they will not value me at less than my worth. I can trust to them. So you can trust to the virtue of laborers, that they will of themselves justly estimate the value of every man's work.

Q. That is precisely what I want to know, by what system of distribution; what authority is there. You say that the people who employ you as a teacher, will know.—A. No; not the people that employ me, but other teachers, I say.

Q. Well, of course, we are speaking of you only as an example. How are they to do that—by some common form of action, as a public meeting?—A. Certainly; in their monthly or yearly meetings.

Q. And so as to every other man?—A. And so as to every other man, and every other employment.

Q. Then you would not have any capitalists—you would have no difference between one man and another?—A. Oh, certainly. We acknowledge gradations in work—inferior work, simple work, average work, and superior work, or "qualified" work, as it is called in political economy. And I think laborers, as a rule, will be apt to think more highly of mental labor than what it is really worth.

#### COMPENSATION OF "DIRECTORS OF LABOR," UNDER SOCIALISM.

Q. What do you call a man that is a director of labor and not a laborer himself; a man directing the exchanges of labor?—A. He will, of course, be made a director only because he is more than a common laborer, and he can perform more.

Q. Would you propose to give him a high salary?—A. Either a higher salary or higher "earnings," as we would call it then.

Q. Would you have that arranged by a vote of the people, also?—A. Certainly.

Mr. CALL. It appears to me that you would have a good deal to do.

The WITNESS. That is self-government, and nothing else is.

Q. If you were to regulate the salaries of everybody employed in the country, do you not think it would amount to a great mass of legislation?—A. Well, is not that kind of legislation already carried on in society? Not publicly, but it is carried on in the way of every day business.

Q. But it is done now by individual employers; it would be done, under your plan, by the community.—A. It may come up once a year, perhaps, when the prices of every kind of work and merchandise are regulated, not only of one branch, but of all branches, by common agreement and compromise. Of course nothing would be perfect at the outset.

Q. Once a year you would have a meeting of these different societies to regulate what each man could get?—A. Yes.

Q. And do you think every man would be satisfied with that?—A. Why, certainly; how otherwise would he be? He has no means of helping himself. Every one else is treated just the same way as himself.

Q. That may be your idea; but that is not exactly a free government, is it?—A. It is exactly a free government, and a self-governing government; and it is no longer a corrupt government. Corruption is only possible through representation. It is no longer possible when the people make their own laws and really elect their own officers.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You ignore the potent fact, or at least something that you hear a good deal about—the possibility of corruption of the ballot itself, do you?—A. Oh, I know there are now corrupt voters, depraved men.

Q. Do you think that under the new conditions there would be any less of them?—A. Why, my dear sir, there would be no motive to corruption. How is there to be corruption if capital is not any longer private property? How could it tempt to corrupt? It is impossible.

By Mr. CALL:

Q. What difference does it make about private property when one man wants more than another? Suppose the capital all belongs to the community, and I want more of it, and you less, how would you satisfy the difference?—A. Suppose the difference between the highest and lowest wages will be as one to ten—that will perhaps be the most that will occur—would not that be better than it is now? Now-a-days a poor sewing woman earns from 9 to 11 cents a day if she is very diligent and works all her hours, while Jay Gould, who does not work at all, properly speaking (for he produces nothing), gets paid for every hour of the day, say, \$10,000.

Q. Why could you not give the sewing woman more than 10 cents a day—say, \$2 a day—without interfering with Jay Gould?—A. I do not object, but I took that only as an example; that while now-a-days the most enormous differences in the reward are allowed and are legal, there will then be only a very narrow limit, but still limit enough to warrant the individual activity of each in his own way.

Q. Suppose all that to be so. Why not correct that without going into these tremendous changes that you speak of? Why not get to some practical way of rewarding labor?—A. Simply because it is impossible; you have not the power.

Mr. CALL. It strikes me that if those people who pay these sewing people only 10 cents a day would get together and agree to pay them more, that would be sufficient.

#### TRADE SOCIETIES SHOULD HAVE POWER TO INFLUENCE THE LABOR MARKET.

The WITNESS. Well, now, I must add something more to the proposals—though this is an idea of my own. I am entirely alone in it, so far as I know. During the times when feudal labor existed and everybody was provided for, to some extent at least, the trade societies which then existed had certain rights through which they were secured against poverty. If trade societies now are to be really effective it is not sufficient that they be incorporated by the Government. When they are made to interest themselves in their own welfare generally, to spread bills before the legislatures and so on, to carry out their own ideas, that will be an improvement, but is that sufficient, if they have not the power to ordain, or if the law which incorporates them does not at the same time ordain that no laborer or workingman who is not a member of a trades union should be employed by anybody? That is the complement to the first law which allows the incorporation of the working-men. Must workingmen have no rights to influence the market of labor? They will not fully realize all the benefits of incorporation otherwise.

Q. What would you do with those people that have no connection with any labor organization?—A. They will hurry up and connect themselves with trade societies.

Q. Do you call that a free country?—A. That is freedom. Nowadays we have none.

Q. Do you call it a free country where a man is obliged to starve if he does not join an association?—A. We have already the liberty to starve, but not the liberty to work ourselves up in wealth. Liberty nowadays is only for the few, not for the laboring men.

Q. You propose that no laboring man shall be allowed to live unless he joins an organization, and you call that freedom?—A. So I do, because it secures him from want; but that is my individual opinion; it is not the belief of my party.

Q. And you think that is a free government?—A. It is a freer government than we have now.

Mr. CALL. Well, that is not the question.

The WITNESS. You would not then have to pay more for labor than is just. It would not be a certain raising of wages, but it would at least preserve people from starvation. People would work perhaps four or six hours a day when work is scarce, but everybody would be employed; and leisure is of itself liberty.

Q. Might it not be that these theories of yours would starve everybody in the country without any delay?—A. It is impossible to do that under my theory. Everybody would be a member of a trades union.

#### THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM CONTRASTED WITH THE SOCIALISTIC.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you think that the mass of people would produce as much under that system; would they have the inducement?—A. Why, we produce too much now.

Q. That is not answering my question. Do you think that under that system which you advocate people would produce as much as they do now under the competitive system?—A. If they are left to do it; but I think there is too much production. We have crises now every five or ten years.

Q. If you produced too much the evil might be as great then as now, so far as overproduction is concerned?—A. No, sir; provision would be made then, and will be made certainly in the future state, to equalize production and consumption; to have, by statistical information, an exact knowledge of the present demands, say for the current year, in every kind of consumption, and to produce just as much of that as is necessary, and no more, excepting a little store that may serve to fill up gaps in the coming years, if there should be a dearth.

#### OVERPRODUCTION.

By Mr. CALL:

Q. What is there that is produced too much, now, that is consumed by men?—A. We produce now a great deal too much wheat in the United States, and export the richest products of our soil, and a great deal of our working force for much too little pay.

Q. Do we produce more than enough wheat to feed all the people of the world?—A. We have not to feed all the people of the world.

Q. By what standard do you say that there is a greater production than is required for the wants of mankind now?—A. As soon as you produce so much as to leave so much to export, you must see that this is a wrong kind of political economy, because the first object of production ought to be production for one's own country.

Q. Why?—A. Because otherwise you export the fruitfulness of your soil, little by little; you export your working force, a great deal of it. Why can't you keep that in the country to make it richer?

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Would you abolish commerce?—A. Oh, no. This will abolish the unnecessary and wasteful commerce, merely, which exports riches that do not come back. In this matter of export we are treated somewhat like Ireland is treated by England. It exports in pounds sterling seventeen millions to England every year that does not come back.

Q. When you export why does it not come back?—A. Well, but in what shape does it come back?

The CHAIRMAN. No matter what shape, if it does come back.

The WITNESS. It comes back in the shape of luxuries that capitalists get in Europe; a hundred millions a year, for instance, in return for our wheat and cotton.

Q. But you want pleasures and luxuries for the working people, and ought they not to have them?—A. Let them have some more luxuries than they have. But the more they have the better they will spend, and that will be a happier time than now. But robbed property will not then be spent.

#### WHO ARE LABORERS.

By Mr. CALL:

Q. Where do you limit the line of labor? Who is a laboring man and who is not a laboring man, according to your idea?—A. Useful labor, I have already explained, is the only labor. All the rest is wasteful labor.

Q. What is useful labor?—A. That which produces wealth, directly or indirectly.

Q. Take Mr. Vanderbilt, for instance. I do not know Mr. Vanderbilt, and I merely mention him as an example; nor have I any connection with men of such large wealth; but take him as a representative of his class, does not the man that directs the great influences that control industry become a working man?—A. *He* does not direct anything. He pays directors, who do the work.

Q. Is not his brain worth anything?—A. No, not at all, since it is not exercised for the advantage of the country.

Q. Does he not occupy something of the position that you do—your brain and his brain alike directing these movements in the direction of increasing progress? What is he doing but directing the influences at his command to increase production, and what is the difference between your work and his? You are a laborer in your way, and is not he a laborer in his?—A. It is very strange that that must be answered, since he can himself fix the price of what he calls his labor.

Q. I should like you tell me where is the line of distinction between useful labor and labor that is not useful. Is it in industrial employment—manual labor—or is it in all the exercises of the brain, just such as you have shown us to day?

#### LABOR THAT IS NOT USEFUL IS NOT TRUE LABOR.

A. I have not for a moment denied that intellectual labor is labor; but this intellectual labor that is exercised to the damage of the whole society and country is not useful labor. Every labor must be useful in order to be true labor. That is the first distinction of political economy.

Q. Then every man who has useful ideas is performing intellectual labor, is he not?—A. Conceding that, yet Mr. Vanderbilt's useful ideas I have never yet seen.

Mr. CALL. Well, he may be a very good man and have some very good ideas.

The WITNESS. Oh, I do not say that he may not be a very good man, after the opinion of the times.

Q. But let us take the question philosophically; you say intellectual labor that is useful is true intellectual labor?—A. Yes.

Q. And the man that you call a capitalist, the man that has got some means and happens to use them, his is not useful labor, but is injurious labor, as I understand you to say?—A. Yes; it is injurious for two reasons: First, because that capital by whose accumulation he spends his mental energy is robbed under legal forms, and he has no right to rob. What he afterwards does with this robbed property is again a detriment to society, because it is meant to accumulate more and more capital; that is to say, to extract from the people (who are, as it were, the soil on which the nation is sustained) more and more of the power to create wealth.

Q. You say that this is "robbed." A gentleman who sat recently in the place where you now sit has some very liberal ideas, and though they do not approach yours they are still very decided in the direction of liberal legislation for the benefit of the people at large, and he has some politico-economic theories like yours. He told us that he knew an instance, indeed several instances, but one special instance, a noted one in New Jersey, where one of those "robbers," as you call them, had acquired very large means by his improvement of the condition of labor in his factories. I suppose you would call that man a very bad man and his labor bad?—A. No.

Q. He testified that this employer had acquired large means by increasing the wages of the laborers, and by providing for them in old age, and administering to their comfort in sickness and showed us a model factory—a kind of paradise on earth. Now, what do you call that?—A. You take the question into an entirely novel department. I am not now talking of morality. I did not speak of morality. I spoke from a politico-economic stand-point.

#### PRIVATE CAPITAL IMPOVERISHES.

Q. But that is not merely morality, but political economy also.—A. I ought to have spoken of the theory of Karl Marx, when he shows that private capital must impoverish every country, and the warning signs of this are now observed over the country in the crises, the great crashes that come now and then over all the trading and mercantile communities. They show that we have a very unsound state of society. Marx' theory is this: That capital must ruin and must abolish itself, just as slavery has abolished itself. We cannot do anything against this natural action of economical and historical causes. It is a historical necessity that the kind of production which now prevails will run itself, and that, too, before this century is over.

Q. May it not be that the fault of your theory is simply this: that you assume that capital is a thinking, sentient being, whereas there is no such thing, and capital is nothing but the means by which the working-man, who has developed his brain and capacity for organization, directs the labor of his fellows—nothing but the brain instrumentalities in connection with the opportunity of usefully directing their labor. Now, in'

that be capital why should it not exist?—A. As soon as you establish a state of society where people are equal and free to compete, as soon as you take away the private property in land, money, and education, as soon as you educate people equally and give them every opportunity in the same manner, according, of course, to the state of their respective gifts, but according to the best development possible for education, as soon as you establish such a society, then you may speak.

Q. Suppose the statistics of this country, and of all other countries, should, in opposition to what you say, show that the great manufacturing and producing interests of the world are in the hands of working-men who have built up these great businesses themselves, and should show that their power is simply the superior intellectual knowledge of their business by which these workingmen are able to give direction to the combined efforts of their fellows—suppose statistics exhibit this to be a fact in every part of the world, then what becomes of your theory that you must take the land in order to do that which is already done by the workingmen themselves?—A. In former times it might truthfully be said that in the United States every person who was a real working-man and was industrious and diligent, and somewhat parsimonious, might ultimately come to a competency, and among thousands there might perhaps be one or two, or three at most, who might become rich; but the opportunities for this are past. You do not see any such thing now.

Q. Such a thing as what?—A. You must not always interrupt me, my dear sir.

Mr. CALL. I beg your pardon. I only wanted to know what you had said.

#### ALL BRANCHES OVERCROWDED.

The WITNESS. Nowadays everything is very different; wages have gone down, and the wants of life have gone up in prices. Compare only the thirty last years of which I can bear witness, and it is now less possible than ever before to make savings, and still less possible, if you have some few savings, to employ them so as to make them useful, to make capital out of them. The chances are all now gone. The best and most useful land in the United States has been taken up now, or is in the course of being taken up. You have to travel far out into the West if you wish to find a place for pre-emption. And so it is with all branches of manufacture and industry; they are so over-crowded that superfluous men are to be found in every walk of life. Nowadays it is an impossibility, except under very favorable circumstances, to become a Vanderbilt or a rich man. And we know the means by which these men have become so rich. I only know one man, and that was Peter Cooper, who really could say, "I have earned most of my fortune by honest work." All the rest have earned it by means which, if lawful or legal, have at least not been just.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACCUMULATION.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You were speaking of there being no opportunities for accumulation by the middle and working classes of this country. Let me ask you if you do not think that your observation should be confined perhaps most closely to those with whom you have come in contact—as the people of this city and its vicinity. Take our State of New Hampshire, for

example, a remote, rural State, where people are not supposed to have much of a chance. They have accumulated, in the last twenty years, about \$40,000,000, the most of it being by common laboring people, who have made these savings-bank deposits almost entirely during that time, and that is something that they were not able to do during any previous part of the century. I state that as a fact, and it is not an uncommon one?—A. I must entirely deny, from facts of which I am in possession, that it is workingmen who are owners of this capital found in savings banks. It is not the workingmen, but it is the small traders, small business men, who wish to have some return on the capital which they do not need for the moment. I can prove that by statistics; and, on the whole, I recommend to your honorable committee the last census of the United States and the reports of the labor bureaus of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Missouri as to these facts.

Q. That is a very suggestive reference, because those are public records. My question to you now is whether it is not possible that your criticism should be limited to a smaller class of people than you imagine—to those of the wage workers, who are suffering?—A. No, sir.

Q. I thought perhaps you were confounding the evils to which a smaller class are subjected. Do you not confound their conditions, and the evils which they suffer, with the general condition of the country at large, which may be prosperous?—A. No, sir; I am speaking as well of the general class of agriculturalists and self-working farmers and professional men. I know a great many very worthy teachers—American born, as well as immigrants, in this country—because I am a member of their societies, and I know of no man, either among them or otherwise, who makes a fortune by his own labor. It is so in every walk of life. If formerly you had small savings you could do tenfold more with your savings than you can do now. You cannot now compete with these large capitalists that are working in your line of business. There is a large capital—tenfold larger—needed now to enable you to get a profit upon your capital than there was when I came to this country. Then everybody who was really a moral and thrifty person might be said to be the smith of his own fortune, at least to some extent. This is not so now. My long experience and observation of every walk of life, and in every State in which I have been, tells me that it is not so now. Who asserts the contrary should give his illustrations. They would be exceptions, and I should be glad to publish them in our newspaper. All such exceptions are very agreeable to us, because they confirm the rule. But I know of very few.

#### CONDITIONS OF LABOR GROWING WORSE.

Q. Before you go on in the other direction, let me ask you whether you think that the condition of the people as a whole—of the 54,000,000 or 55,000,000 that we have here—is growing worse or better, in a material point of view?—A. It is certainly growing worse. The only contrary action is that of the labor organizations. Wherever you find a good labor organization it is proof against too great oppression. Wherever there is a well organized trades union, or labor society, there is a greater power of resistance against the lowering of wages; there is more possibility to raise wages, to curtail the hours of labor, the working day, and to take care of the laws, and to bring bills before the legislature so as to benefit the state of labor generally. The trades organizations are very beneficial. We know that, from the history of the English trades unions.

## CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN ENGLAND.

Q. By the way, I should like you to give us, what I suppose you readily can, a pretty full idea of the labor organizations of England, and of Europe generally, as they have been, and as they are, and their effect upon the development of better conditions for the masses of the people there.—A. As regards the English trades unions, I will do what I can. They have existed from the beginning of this century when there was still some recollection of the older kind of trades unions that prevailed all over Europe centuries ago. At that time the working day was from sixteen to eighteen hours a day in the cotton factories, which just then, next to the iron industry, had the greatest number of operatives. At that time their conventions and assemblages and their organizations were forbidden by law as conspiracies. Child labor and woman's labor were employed to a very great extent. Wages were exceedingly low, and you know the corn laws had not yet been abolished. All the necessities of life were dear. Laborers first tried to help themselves by combinations to destroy factories. In the first twenty years of this century a great many factories were destroyed because they had introduced machinery. In part, the execution of the laws against the malefactors stopped that; but in greater part the intelligence of the working class itself stopped it. They saw that this was not the right sort of remedy, because these machines, if once made the property of the working people, might benefit the working people just as well as they now benefit the employers, and so they gave up of their own free accord burning the factories and destroying machinery, and began to petition Parliament from year to year, and they began especially to interest the landed aristocracy in their behalf, because the manufacturers would not listen to any petitions. So that it came to pass in 1833, that the conspiracy law was abolished and trades unions were made legal. From that time they began to act as free men. They began to combine in such numbers as you now see them combining. They then began to found benevolent institutions in their own mills. A fund for resistance was created, to be used if strikes should occur, or if a single operative should be dismissed and could find no work elsewhere; a fund for widows and orphans was created, and a fund for the benefit of the families of deceased members, and for the burial of those members was created. Thenceforth they held yearly congresses of all the organized trades unions in England, Scotland, and Wales, and they obtained by degrees one law after another, chiefly through the co-operation of the landed aristocracy, because that interest opposed manufacturing interests just as much as possible. The agitation for the abolition of the corn laws was beginning at that time. So they had friends among the aristocratic class, and they fostered very much the enactment of laws that were favorable to workingmen.

## ARBITRATION IN ENGLAND.

Laws in favor of arbitration were passed, and that system has existed for many years; but the workingmen needed not to make use of it since they had private contracts in most cases with their employers, and often employed arbitration when there arose any difference between laborer and employer. Arbitration in England is always going on voluntarily, not particularly according to law—that part of the law is not resorted to—because it is in some respects less easily resorted to than the private method.

Q. Do you think that the existence of the law is essential to the ex-

istence of these private organizations?—A. Certainly not, but it is good to have it exist until such time as labor is strong enough to make contracts on equal terms. Other laws were passed, such as the laws against child's labor.

#### RESTRICTION ON CHILD LABOR AND WOMEN LABOR IN ENGLAND.

It was a great victory this law, against child's labor, and that victory was obtained in 1850. Children must not now be employed more than one-half a day, and the laboring day was limited to 54 hours a week. So that children can only be emp'oyed 27 hours a week. Since that time the children of working people can go to school, and the law was established that forced them into the school, which, however, was not the present public school. The public school as it now exists has existed only since 1870. A law was also passed which exempted women from work in certain kinds of industries. For instance, in collieries, in potteries, and several others.

#### FACTORY INSPECTION.

The next great step was in 1850, when the Government established factory inspection—appointed a number of labor inspectors. That is something that we ought to have in the United States. We need it very urgently. The only trouble in England is that the number of these inspectors is too small. They cannot inspect the factories often enough. But the Government was so lucky as to find very apt men. To their eternal praise be it said the workingmen owe a great deal of gratitude to the first labor inspectors, factory inspectors, and sanitary inspectors, which about that time were chosen by the Government; and in general these English factory and sanitary inspectors have done a great deal of good to the working people and to the communities at large. These were some of the chief advantages of the organization of the trades unions.

#### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAW IN ENGLAND.

The last or one of the last laws enacted was that which made the employers liable for damages that were suffered by working people during their service. The law is not quite perfect yet, but in the last working-men's convention, held a few days ago, the provision was recommended that the proof must be brought by the employer that he is without fault. That amendment, I hope, will be adopted by the Government and by Parliament. Then the laboring class in general began to organize country workingmen, who were worse off than almost any other class. Mr. Arch, one of the founders of the party, was instrumental in doing that.

Q. You mean the agricultural laborers?—A. Yes; organizing the agricultural laborers; and this led to an improvement of their wages from eight or eight and a half shillings to ten shillings a week, and that very speedily. The advantage, however, has in part been lost during the recent hard times.

#### SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

The workingmen were instrumental in obtaining the manhood-suffrage law, as far as it exists. It is called the household suffrage act. If you have your own door key—not to the house, but to your dwelling—

then you are a household voter, and can vote. But it is the intention, I understand, of the Government to confer the suffrage upon every grown person above 21 years of age. All those steps, have by degrees, been obtained by workingmen, sometimes by connecting themselves with the aristocratic class, sometimes by holding with the manufacturing class, and sometimes with the mercantile class.

#### CO-OPERATION.

The pioneer societies, which co-operate in production and consumption, have been spoken of a great deal here in the United States, and have been more recommended than they are worth. In fact, the best effects of these societies are obtained by trades unions which carry on at the same time a consumption store. Consumption stores are carried on for the most part by trades unions. There are about 900 consumption stores in Great Britain. In a very few cases they are productive unions. This is the benefit which has come from organization. I know of no case in which the employing class have voluntarily, without being pushed by the working class, made any grant of higher wages or shorter working time, or larger rights in any way within the factory, or of any other benefits for labor. If there is such a more general—not individual—effort to be spoken of, I do not know of it. I know very benevolent individual employers, both in this country and in others. I have often known large capitalists to say "We owe labor more than we pay it. We ought to make it good in some other way." Mr. Poppenhusen, of College Point, L. I., founded an institution, a sort of labor lyceum, with kindergarten, library, debating society, and so on. That was practical philanthropy. I know other such individual efforts here, and in other countries. But it is not done by the employing class as a class. These cases are exceptional.

It can be proved historically that wherever labor is well organized, wages are high and working hours are short, and that in proportion as labor is badly or not at all organized wages are low and hours are longer. There is hardly a limit to the indignities to which labor may be put if it is not organized.

#### WAGES PROPORTIONED TO ORGANIZATION OF LABOR.

You can make a scale of wages, and, on the other hand, a scale of hours of labor, and read off on that scale who has the highest wages. The highest wages in this country are those of the glass makers of New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana. They have been so well organized that their wages are nearly \$1,000, on an average, a year. The next highest in the country are the higher branches of the iron industry. There the wages average about \$800 a year to each man; a lower grade about \$600; a still lower grade \$1 a day. But wherever labor is well organized there need not be a war between capital and labor constantly and always. Mr. Jarrett has told you that that need not be, though there is a general war between labor and capital, and harmony never can be fully realized, yet there is great help in these institutions because there are sure to be benefits from them.

It has been said here before you, if I recollect aright, that if wages are raised by strikes there must result an enhancing of the commodities or necessities of life; that merchandise must become dear just in the same proportion as wages are raised.

Q. It has been claimed that the increase of wages of one class was really paid by the laborers or consumers in another class.—A. That was the proposition. Well, it is one of the strangest mistakes that can be made.

PROPORTION OF JOINT PRODUCT—CAPITAL, 19.7%; LABOR, 17.5%.

In this country labor gets about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the proceeds of labor—that is, by the census of 1880. Every former census shows another and a better result. But by the census of 1880 labor gets only  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. from the proceeds of labor, while capital gets 19.7 per cent. That is to say, after it has paid for materials, interest, rent, taxes, and all the incidental expenses, the net revenue or benefit to capital is 19.7 per cent., according to the census of 1880. Now, suppose shoemakers raise their wages, say 20 per cent. The shoemaker who now has \$300 a year will then have \$60 more a year. That is an item for him—a considerable item. How much will that raise the price of the merchandise which he makes? In a pair of shoes, for instance, that costs \$3, it raises them at most only a few cents. He may now have to pay more for the shoes which he and his family consume in a year. It may cost him in a year perhaps \$3 more. Instead of paying for a year's shoes, say \$20, he pays now \$23. Yet he has, as we see, got \$60 more wages than he had, so that he is still considerably better off. Is not that a clear gain for him? And so with every other kind of merchandise.

Q. You might follow that illustration out a little more, perhaps. The 20 per cent. that you add on the basis of the census to the wages of the workingmen would be only 3 per cent. on the cost of the article. So that, assuming that before he got an average of 17 per cent., that would carry the proportion of production which he would receive up to 20 per cent.; and the same theory, carried on through, would increase the share of labor to 20 per cent. and reduce capital to 17 per cent.—A. No, sir. Now comes the objection to that—

Q. But is not that your illustration?—A. That seems to be. I will now explain. As soon as the workingman gets \$60 or more a year he will spend it. This will make a larger profit for the capitalist, and, selling more merchandise, he can afford to have a smaller profit, for the oftener he turns his capital around in a year, if he makes even a small profit, it will amount to just as much profit at the end of the year as if he turned the capital round less frequently and made more profit at each turn.

Q. Your point is that increasing wages does not decrease the profit of capital?—A. It decreases in all cases the profit of capital, but capital can afford to lose it because the market is enlarged.

Q. And the larger aggregate makes up for it?—A. Yes.

Q. Then, assuming the same volume of business, profits would be decreased; but you claim that the volume of business would be increased?—A. Exactly.

Q. Then, if the aggregate of business is increased, an increased amount of labor must be performed, must it not?—A. Certainly; but the amount of the individual's labor need not be increased thereby.

Q. It must be if there is more produced, must it not?—A. The number of laborers is increased, but the single laborer is not more occupied.

Q. You assume that more laborers will be employed?—A. Yes; and that is a great benefit. The more laborers you employ, and at good wages, and the more purchasing power they have, the better will be the market.

## REDUCTION OF HOURS BRINGS ENHANCEMENT OF LABOR.

Q. It has been thought that the best method of securing the employment of additional laborers would be by reducing the working hours of those that are now engaged. What do you think of that?—A. It comes to the same thing in the end. If you reduce the time more laborers will be employed. In consequence of that the laborer will have more purchasing power; and in consequence of that again, the capitalist can afford to pay higher wages. It always was the fact, and without any exception in the history of labor, that when the working time was reduced wages were, after awhile, enhanced, and when the working time was increased wages were after a time reduced. This may be demonstrated in every single case. Our newspaper, the *Volks Zeitung*, gathers all these cases, and we have quite a library of reference upon them. Whatever labor gains capital must lose, and *vice versa*.

Q. I do not quite understand your propositions as consistent with each other, perhaps because I have not understood your statement fully. In the illustration you gave a moment ago about the increase of the wages of the laborer by 20 per cent., I assumed that there would be a corresponding reduction of the profits of capital to 16 per cent., so that what labor gained capital would lose, which is the proposition, as I understood, that you then laid down; but now you controvert that.—A. If I said that capital loses 3 per cent. from the 19 without a compensation in the long run I must have mistated or misunderstood the question.

Q. No; you said it in this way: that what labor gains capital must lose, assuming a given volume of business.—A. Yes.

Q. But then I understood that you supplemented that proposition with this, that inevitably as you increase pay to the laborer there would be an increased volume of business or production?—A. Yes.

Q. Then followed the question to you that, if the volume of business is increased, of course there must be more labor performed, and, consequently, there must be more wages paid, and you met that by saying that there would be more labor performed, but not by the individual laborer—other laborers would be called in and employed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And thus the volume of business would be increased, but by other laborers; and just how the individual laborer would be any better off I have not been able to see.—A. Because the wages are increased, and there is a larger number of workers who guarantee each other's existence.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think I understand your theory, and I will not interrupt you in your narration. You were saying when I interrupted you that whatever labor gained capital must lose.

## VICTUALS AND RENT FORM BULK OF LABOR'S EXPENDITURE.

The WITNESS. Yes. Now, it so happens that the largest part of the reward of labor is spent for victuals and for rent—about 70 to 75 per cent. going to those. In many branches that proportion of the value of the product which is expended in raw material alone is very large—say 80 to 85; sometimes even 90 per cent. forms raw material. The butchers who furnish us our meat need a large capital, and spend on the raw material—for the cattle which they kill—perhaps 81 per cent. Labor, profit, and all other expenses share the last remnant. So you see that if wages are raised in all industrial pursuits at the same time by 20 per cent., that makes the purchasing power of the 20 per cent., and of all the wages, a great deal higher—because, there being so little labor comparatively entering into the production of victuals and rent, it

is only a small percentage by which the cost of labor is raised, and therefore the purchasing power of the wages which are given has risen. I do not know whether I have expressed myself clearly enough. The matter is a little difficult to express. Since labor spends most of its income for victuals and rent, and the actual production of victuals and rent—houses, dwellings, fuel, &c.—requires but little labor comparatively to the whole amount of money spent in production, therefore when wages are raised in all branches—when butchers and bakers, and when also brewers and house-builders raise their wages, it is a comparatively trifling portion of the whole product which is thereby raised, and therefore the purchasing power of the industrial laborers is not consumed so much by the buying of these victuals and by the buying of that rent.

Q. But the force of your conclusion depends upon your assumption that the raw material in all those businesses amounts to 80 or 90 per cent. ?—A. Not in all businesses, but in these chief ones that I have mentioned, in which workmen consume most.

Q. Very well, it depends upon the assumption that labor is a very small element in production. Now, if you go back to the raw material in the case of the butcher, that is the animal which he kills, is it not ? He invests his capital by purchasing an animal which he kills. That animal, in its turn, is production to the herdsman, and, in a certain sense, to the middle man, and so on all the way back to the land and to the wild animal from which this animal proceeded originally in the process of domestication of the race. Capital has been invested over and over again in this process of domestication. To get down to the animal which you have killed, it starts as a calf, perhaps, on the plains; there is no capital in that, yet it now costs a good deal; just as with the iron ship which was at one time raw ore in the mine, worth little or nothing, while now it is a finished ship sailing on the ocean, and 90 or 95 per cent. of that ship is labor. So it would seem to follow that the assumption of men like John Roach, who say that nearly everything in production consists of labor, must be correct; and, if that is correct, your argument would be fallacious.

#### SIX-SEVENTHS OF ALL PRODUCTION GOES FOR BENEFIT OF CAPITAL.

A. I have in many different ways calculated that all the productions that exist, all the receipts that exist, go, six-sevenths of them, to the benefit of capital and only one-seventh to the benefit of labor.

Q. You consider the animal sold to the butcher as capital, do you not ?—A. Yes, of course, when sold.

Q. Then production is capital, is it not ?—A. Well that would be a misnomer.

Q. If production is capital production is labor ?—A. Production cannot be capital.

Q. You sell it, and the moment it is consumed by sale it is capital in the hands of the man who has got the price, is it not ?—A. The product, yes.

Q. Well, now, you start with the soil, and nine-tenths of what converts the simplest thing into a salable commodity is the work put upon it. Therefore nine-tenths of whatever profit is received goes to labor. As each stage of progress is reached the article becomes the raw material of the next process in industry, and the same proportion of labor is made use of in that occupation.

**CAPITAL REWARDED AT EACH STAGE OF MANUFACTURE.**

A. Every new process presupposes the anterior process, in which capital has been rewarded already, and it must not be put in the account now.

Q. The capital which has been rewarded is labor.—A. And the labor has been rewarded—I do not deny that—as far as it was not “robbed.”

Q. Then labor all the way through is 90 or 95 per cent. of that?—A. But its reward on each stage of proceedings is less than that of capital. The New York Volks Zeitung has proven this in the case of a number of industries. It may be proven from the figures of the census in the case of every industry, and I regret not being prepared to do it just now, at least in some instances. I am ready to prove it at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you.

The WITNESS. We are speaking of industrial associations and their effect on wages.

Q. But is it not possible that there may be there a grievous fallacy? Can you segregate one process in the great series of processes which ends with the printing press, or with the ship, or (in the case of food) with the stomach—can you segregate one thing from out of these processes and leave all the rest out of consideration?—A. No; I do not propose to do so. I had to consider, according to what you wanted me to tell you, how trades unions or societies have benefited workers, and I am speaking now from the standpoint of the experience of trades unions. I say that when their wages are raised the merchandise which they need most of all for their livelihood will not be essentially, will only be triflingly raised, if at all, by the raising of wages, which is a matter of experience with trades unions.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with that perfectly, and I think your illustration proves that.

The WITNESS. If, now, I have to consider agricultural labor, and all that, I shall have to begin afresh.

**WHAT CAPITAL GAINS LABOR LOSES.**

All my topic is that whatever labor gains by raising wages or curtailing time will ultimately redound to the damage of profit; it will curtail profit; and whatever profit, or capital, gains, labor must lose.

Q. But, in order to make it equitable, must you not increase wages in a corresponding proportion among all classes of labor that contribute to the thing as finally produced at the point of consumption?—A. Oh, yes; but at the same time all the producing power of these laborers increases, and thereby the body of consumption increases, and thereby capital can afford to lose a little of its profits. It is now so, and in future societies there would be no profits; profits would be entirely abolished through the workings of the trades unions in all branches and dividing the net profits.

Q. You say profits are to be entirely abolished. Profits are the accumulations which are made the basis of future enterprises or production?—A. Not always; they may be consumed.

Q. Yes; they may be consumed or may be wasted; but we have been speaking of capital and labor and raw material—which, I suppose, you would say was one form of capital—being combined to produce the next commodity. They enter into combination to produce new commodities. Now, if you distribute the entire result or price of the commodity immediately, and there be no accumulation, what will be left to commence enterprise anew for future investment in future production?

## THE NEW STATE OF SOCIETY.

A. Do you mean when the new state of society shall come?

Q. Well, yes, you may put it in that way. I suppose that you would not entirely abolish profits until you introduce the new state of society.—A. I think it impossible to do it before that time. I do not know of any means by which it could be done.

Q. Then the introduction of the new state of society results in the gradual reduction of profit by increasing distribution to labor. Is that it?—A. Well, it may be so, and it may be different. It depends entirely on the way in which it is introduced—the transition state.

Q. In what other way is there a peaceable way out of that?—A. Profits may be done entirely away with, or entirely abolished in different ways. For instance, the present capitalists might be willing (I am supposing this to be the case, though it is improbable) to enter into combination with the trade society of each kind, and serve them as book-keepers or directing persons, foremen, &c.; and the trade societies might be satisfied with the service of these men at a very high figure, perhaps, until a certain time. That might be a very gradual plan of introducing that new system.

Q. Is there any other way—you speak of an immediate introduction of it—how can that be accomplished otherwise than by revolution?

## PREPARATION NECESSARY FOR IT.

A. If revolution does introduce it suddenly now it is not our fault. We are not prepared for it. We would prefer to have enough working time to agitate, so as to have a clear conception of what is to be done the day after the revolution, to "spread the light" among the working people, and even among our adversaries, that they may see that we are not going to bring things to ruin. And then if it does come, it will not come so forcibly as in other ways. But if it is forced upon us, as all revolutions are forced upon the working people, through the reactionary or conservative party, we are at a loss to know the immediate results. It has always been so. So much is this the case that a revolution once begun in one country comes to another country also, and then we may have a convention of all the different countries, and we may arrange the production and consumption of each among ourselves. We may then say that this country shall produce this kind of merchandise, and that country another kind, and each country so much of each commodity, we compensating the others for their merchandise with our kind of merchandise. The trades unions then may be able to so equalize production and consumption as to be entirely just, and yet every year afresh, so as to do away with all the faults or defects of distribution, for defects must of course from the beginning exist. There ought to be every year a fresh distribution.

## REPRESENTATION SHOULD BE DUAL-- POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

Furthermore, since that topic has been touched upon, let me say that my own idea is, and it is an idea shared in by many persons, though not in the party creed, that there should be two kinds of representation of the people—a political one and an economic one; the political representatives to have to do simply and solely with matters of law, morality, and education; the economic representatives to have to do with the economic representatives of all the nations that are combined, they to compromise and agree about a contract of production and consumption

through which no profit is allowed to any single person or to any nation. Exploitation should be forbidden, even as regards colonies; every nation to do her share in producing such articles as are adapted to her capacity and the mutual wants of all, and all the others to produce what they can most advantageously produce, and every nation to have a store left for future wants so as to supply gaps in production when they come.

That is a private idea of my own. I do not, however, suppose that we know all things, or that I individually should know everything that can be done. There is enough wisdom in the world to arrange all these matters if it is left free to act for the benefit of all the community. Nowadays that is impossible.

#### BRAINS SUBJECT TO CAPITAL.

Nowadays all learned men, all scientific, all technical inventors and directors, are at the service of the ruling class. They are not left free to do what they can do, and therefore they work to the detriment of all the other classes. It is even doubtful whether they work for the ultimate benefit of capital, since they impoverish, through exploitation, the working people of all countries, so that ultimately there must be a revolution to make an end of it. But there is science and wisdom enough in the world, so that as soon as knowledge and wisdom are put to the work of reforming, they will find ways to accomplish their end. Therefore we need not now puzzle ourselves with special details of the new society. We need only now agree upon principles, and these principles are the fixing, as far as experts can determine, what everybody's work is worth to society, in the case of the workingman by experts from the workingmen's own ranks, and in the case of the learned man by experts from the learned man's own ranks, this principle to be carried through between all the nations; production to be equalized to consumption (with a little surplus); laws to be reduced to the smallest possible amount, because they will have nothing more to do with economic matters; absolute free trade, without any duties at all; and a curtailment of the working time of every individual to, say, four or five or six hours, according as the necessity may demand it, so that every man and woman may really be free.

#### FREEDOM: WHAT IT IS.

My freedom consists in having as much of my time as possible at my own disposal. I must be at the service of society for some hours of the day. Society has a right to demand that at my hands in return for the benefits it confers upon me; but such freedom should be had for everybody as that he should be free for, say, five-sixths of the time of the day. And labor should only be expected of people for a certain number of years. There ought to be a kind of pension fund, or insurance association—the State itself to be such an association—which should allow labor to retire at a certain age, to enjoy life, and to add its wisdom, acquired by ripe experience, to the councils of the nation, to serving voluntarily and without pay in all kinds of offices. In olden times the old folks were considered the best folks to consider the welfare of the nation, and did not get any pay for that. Those were the so-called senates; why should not they be so henceforth? Profits, however, should be abolished entirely, and the value of services and merchandise should be rearranged from year to year through conventions of the economic representatives of all nations.

## WARS TO BE ABOLISHED.

Wars, of course, with their standing armies, &c., should and would be entirely abolished.

Q. What method would you substitute for war, in the adjustment of such difficulties and disagreements as might arise?—A. All wars, now-a-days, are undertaken for economic reasons, for the sake of exploitation of nations and similar reasons. If the motive is taken away, war will be taken away. And, by the way, our education in the future will be a far better thing than it is now; and I would like to direct your attention to some points under that head.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be glad to hear you after recess.

The committee then took a recess of half an hour, after which Dr. Douai's examination was continued, as follows:

## EDUCATION.

The WITNESS. Education is my real profession, and in that I have had a large experience—perhaps more than any other living man—in many countries. Of course, I expect great things from an improvement of education for the future state of society, and for the present as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go on, as bearing upon your experience as a teacher and your right to speak for education, let me say that I am told you have been identified with the Kindergärten system of schools, and have done as much as anybody living, and perhaps more, to introduce and foster them. What have been your connections in that regard?

The WITNESS. I shall touch upon that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, without interrupting you again, I shall just ask you to give us your views upon education, and the connection between education and labor, speaking at such length and to such points as you choose.

## THE SCHOOL SUBSERVIENT TO OTHER VESTED INTERESTS.

The WITNESS. Educational reforms are very difficult, because the school was at all times considered the servant of other vested interests—of the church chiefly—of the State as a despotic State, and of society. There is no profession so unfortunate as the teaching profession, because it can almost never execute what it considers necessary by the behests of science and the teachings of experience. The teacher's efforts to improve schooling are always hampered by the fears entertained by the church, by the State, and by society that the children to be educated may not be educated according to their own wishes. I premise that simply to show why it is almost impossible to expect that in our present society much could be done for educational reform. I shall afterward mention what may be done.

## NEW STATE OF SOCIETY NECESSARY FOR EDUCATION.

It is clear to my mind that we need another state of society for the best interests of humanity and of education. All the improvement of mankind—the inauguration of a high degree of freedom and development—depend upon a new state of society in which capital shall no more exist in private possession—when alone it will be possible to ward off the sinister influences of these powers of which I speak and to give

back to education, that is to say to the teaching fraternity in combination with the parents of the children, and the representatives of science and religion—to give back to these the rights they ought to have to reform education and the school. I think there are more reformers of society among teachers than among any other class of professional men, because they have the sore experience in their hearts of how much they might do if they had the privilege left to them, and how little they can do nowadays, even with their best efforts and their best knowledge. Therefore I think teachers will, in the reorganization of society, play one of the first parts.

When that shall be the case then the real business of the political part of the State will be to further all the interests of education, and to devote as much of the proceeds of labor—let us say as much money—as possible to the purposes of education. The lack of means which prevails nowadays to carry out educational reforms is so considerable that the best will can do but little. But then when it is possible to devote all the necessary means to this great reform—the giving all that can be imagined—then it would be possible to do a great many things that are now impossible.

#### THE KINDERGARTEN—ITS EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES.

It is, however, very useful to have models, even now, established by such means as are now at our command, by which it may be shown what could be effected in the end if the means were larger. In this respect I have always tried to introduce kindergarten as a general education—not as it is now, an education of the earliest age for the wealthy classes. I have, of course, no objection to that, but as an exclusive means it is just the opposite of what I should wish. All the youths, all the children of the age of from three and a half or four years, when they can take care of their own cleanliness and do not involve too much trouble to the teachers outside of the real purposes of the schools, all these children ought to be seen in the same school, so as to form an early association of all classes; to render sympathetic their sentiments; to morally educate them and to make them take interest in each other's well-being; to teach them to behave in an orderly manner, and to associate themselves willingly with every kind of child; at the same time to learn a great many things which are necessary for citizens of the state to learn who are to live together; for instance, to govern themselves in a body. Children ought to learn that in the kindergarten, and not in later schools.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT BY CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS.

This self-government has been already carried on and practically tested, as all educational innovations have been practically tested, long, long ago. In Switzerland, at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century, first in the Reichenbach canton of Grisen, there was a school in which Louis Phillippe, afterward king of France, was a teacher, and one of our great German writers was also a teacher. They introduced into that school self-government among the children. The children had a right to elect their own officers and law-givers. The teachers had only to modify such measures as were too severe. The experience had with that kind of self-government among the children was glorious. That same kind of self-government was also tried by Pestalozzi and by Fellenberg, also in Switzerland, and they are unanimous in its praise. That might be instituted in the kindergarten, but the kindergarten has far higher purposes yet.

## YEARS OF GROWTH—THEIR RELATIVE EDUCATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

If you consider that the first year of life exhibits a larger growth of body and mind than the second—perhaps double as large—and the growth of the second year is more than that of the third, and so on through every subsequent year, the growth becoming slower and less intense, except perhaps during the years of development—from fourteen to sixteen—in the two sexes, when there is a very large increase of growth, mentally and bodily, you see that just in these important years it is most necessary that the early growth should not be stunted. It is nowadays stunted because there is not the attention paid to it which might be paid.

## WHY MEN ARE CLASSIFIED AS STUPID AND AS INTELLIGENT.

Many talents simply fall asleep or die because they need, but do not receive, fitting nourishment, which is occupation—occupation with the objects that attract the mind, that are adapted to the special wants of every child and to the wants of all the children. This negligence of the educators of early childhood results in the fact that only a minority of children seem to have real gifts, real talents, or genius. That is the reason, and the only reason, why men are classified as stupid and as intelligent, why the prejudice prevails that there must be always a stupid class which must be ruled, and an intelligent class which may rule. Every common man seems to have an experience of that kind. “Some children,” they say, “are intelligent and some are geniuses, and it is all the gift of nature!” Well, all the old teachers of large experience with whom I have conferred about that say it is wrong; it is not true; all real teachers’ experience contradicts it. The more opportunities you give children at an early age to satisfy their hunger for that kind of instruction which is adapted to their special talents and to the common talent of mankind—in other words, the better the food you give them, and the more correctly it is proportioned to the natural craving of the mental appetite, the more their powers develop. And it is so in every child.

Why, sir, when I was a young man it was believed that among one hundred children in the schools there might be perhaps 5 per cent. who might be good drawers and designers, and it was said that all the rest would never learn it. It is not so. In our kindergartens we have the example that every child may become a drawer and designer, if you begin at an early age and work gradually.

It used to be said in my time that to become a good mathematician one must be a very stupid fellow. That was the prevailing prejudice among my comrades in the higher schools. In our kindergartens we develop the talents for mathematics and geometry at a very early age by gradual exercises, and we find that no child is entirely devoid of talents for this kind of science. And so you could go along the whole list of human achievements, and you may, in every child, develop a considerable aptitude for acquiring more and more, during lifetime, of this particular skill or science adapted to the particular talent, while in general, by this practice, all the talents are developed in every child.

## GOETHE'S KEY TO MENTAL DEVELOPMENT.

Our greatest poet, Goethe, in his romance, *Wilhelm Meister*, develops the idea at great length that you need only become acquainted with the special talent of a man or a child, and develop that, in order to see all

his other talents—the general talents that are common to all mankind—rising a step, or several steps, higher. If you give the individual child that particular food which it craves most, this will give it courage to attempt every improvement in its other mental powers. It was this dictum of Goethe which prompted me during all my life as a teacher to try to see if it was true, and I have made a great number of experiments to test it—so large a number as to show me that it is true.

#### THE FUNCTION OF THE KINDERGARTEN.

The kindergarten is the school which has been invented by Friedrich Fröbel for the purpose of developing all the talents of childhood at a time when they have not yet fallen asleep through neglect. So that, you see, if afterwards your elementary or your higher school builds on this basis, you can rear citizens that are equal to all the tasks that you can impose upon them. Of course the whole school would then assume a very different aspect from what it now bears. Our elementary school would begin with well prepared children. They would not only understand every word the teacher says, but they would, from their course of kindergartening, have learned the meaning of language, and even of two languages. In all the kindergartens which I directed two languages were taught at the same time—spoken and practiced and well understood.

#### NUMBER OF WORDS UNDERSTOOD BY CHILDREN.

The number of words which an average child here in New York and its surrounding neighborhood understands in the English language is not more than from 300 to 500.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. At what age?—A. At the age when they begin to go to school—even in the first year of school. German children know, perhaps, in addition, some three hundred to five hundred German words. Their vocabulary is so limited that a teacher cannot express himself intelligently to the children. Then one or more years of that time of life when talents are yet to some degree fresh and apt to grow rapidly, are wasted by the efforts of the teacher to first discipline a little his class of sixty or eighty pupils to make them sit still, not to move their bodies, but to rise when bidden, to sit down when bidden, not to turn their heads around, not to wink, and all the rest of it. And the children must be taught to understand what the teacher means.

#### DEFECTS OF PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Again, all the exercises in the public schools are too abstract for children; they have never in their lives known anything that was like those exercises. But children that come from the kindergarten, if you have them in a separate class, so that no other pupil can get between them and their studies, advance so rapidly that there is no comparison possible between them and the other children. I have in my practice found that if you begin the elementary school with children of seven—at the full seventh year of age—you begin timely enough, and, if they have come from the kindergarten well prepared you will find them, two years afterward (then in their ninth year) as far advanced as any other children are at ten. This is the effect of such preparation.

But even then, according to my experience, the elementary school should not be a sedentary school for all the hours of attendance (which should be about five hours for all except the high school). Children should not be forced to sit down and study in that position for at the outside more than one-half of this proper time. The other half of the time should be spent in a continuation of the kindergarten exercises on a higher scale. Then you can teach all those branches which they had in the kindergarten in such a way as to develop the arts and the sciences, as far as they can be taught at that age, in a playful manner, and so as never to over-work the mind, much less the body.

A great deal of those exercises in the second half of the time ought to be gymnastics, so as to give a relief to the body, which has been tired out by sitting a long time, and at the same time to develop all the beauty of which the body is capable, and all the muscular strength and all the health that is possible. That is the very first object. If you have your children well prepared, from the kindergarten up, you may be sure that at eleven or twelve years of age they will be as far advanced as other children are at thirteen or fourteen. This is not saying too much. I might quote examples if it were proper for me to do so, seeing that it is my own experience of which I should have to speak. The fact, however, is that you can teach double as much in half the time if you have begun in time to do the right thing—to give the child the proper nourishment for all its faculties. That is as to the general idea.

#### THE HIGH SCHOOL: WHAT IT SHOULD BE.

Now, when we come to the higher school—that school which should begin after the fourteenth or fifteenth year of age, just when the body and mind begin to have their “second-step” year, as we call it—the great development year—when manhood and womanhood are beginning to ripen—just then the high school should commence. The high school might be carried on a great deal like the present high school but always connected with practical exercises for one-half of the time. And here professional, mechanical, and technical education might be taken care of. So that every school ought to be connected with workshops in which every kind of work should be taught, not only theoretically, but at the same time practically, by means of actual work. And not one kind of labor only, but several. Every youth ought to be able to make an easy transition from one kind of calling to another. This is indispensable in our time when so many professions and callings are likely to become superseded and to be entirely dispensed with. It is but natural that at a period when inventions and division of labor and production on a large scale are carried on as they are nowadays many professions will by and by become superfluous. The reason why we have so many superfluous people nowadays is because they cannot afford, or have not the courage of mind or of body to go over from one profession or occupation to another which pays well enough.

#### WHAT THE SCHOOLS SHOULD DO TOWARD MEN'S OCCUPATIONS.

Our schools ought to impart this facility. They ought to provide for contingencies in which whole populations may be deprived of their livelihood by the progress of the times. If society and the state do everything possible to advance the professions and industries of life, they should bear the consequences, on the other hand, of so arranging and adjusting things that the followers or practitioners of any particular

profession may not, through the progress of the times, be made the sufferers, be made the victims of that very progress. There is no right in men, whether singly or in combination, whether in the state, in society, or whatever you choose to call it, to make the individual man atone for the general progress of society and suffer the consequences thereof. To prevent that, there ought to be diversity of callings taught and practiced by and for the pupils. This, of course, ought to be done by the masters in every science and art. It ought to be taught on theoretical grounds, and the teaching applied for practical purposes. When, for instance, the art of glass-blowing is taught, the scientific principles which underlie the whole production of glass ought to be explained. As much chemistry as possible ought to be taught to make the occupation intelligible to those who are employed in it. They ought to see and understand how glass comes to exist, and the different kinds of glass that may be produced by the different mixtures of elements, and so with each mechanical art and profession; it ought to be taught on scientific principles as well as with the greatest practical perfection, so that no person can ever be in life without the means to support himself. In a properly adjusted system, four or six hours a day would enable a man to produce as much as society wants him to produce. So that he could dispose of the rest of his time as freely as possible, and then be indeed a free man.

#### VALUE OF CLASSICAL EDUCATION.

I ought here to state my opinion of education in the old or classical languages. Of course, those languages are indispensable for such men and women as want to be historians, investigators of antiquity, or naturalists in the line of prehistoric mankind, or prehistoric animal kind. Such persons need the old languages—not Latin and Greek only, but a great many more. When I was a youth, it was thought a great achievement to understand Latin and Greek, and, at most, Hebrew, for those who wanted to study theology. Nowadays, to be philologists, as we ought to be, means to understand and almost to be able to speak reasonably well from ten to twenty languages, so great are the demands made in the sciences, as they are nowadays advancing. Of course, it would not be possible to deny to philologists the knowledge of Latin and Greek, and of all other foreign languages; but to all those who do not intend to become philologists and pedagogues of the highest kind, of what earthly use are Latin and Greek? I cannot see that they are of any use to such people.

Of course, I have studied Latin and Greek, and I think I know something of them. But whatever I may have learned, and whatever I may have done of good in this world, has not been the result of my knowledge of Latin and Greek. I know many men as old as I am who say the same thing. If it were not for the thousands of philologists who are employed in our colleges, and who of course would bear ill having instruction in these languages abolished in colleges, we would have a great many more advocates of my idea.

If you want Latin and Greek terms for any science, you have your dictionaries; you can find the terms there by looking for them. If you want choice sayings from the great poets, or the great writers of Greek or Roman literature, you will find collections of those saying published in books and alphabetically arranged so that you can look them up whenever you need them. Do you want to read the old poets? Well, I advise you not to do it in Latin and Greek, if it can be helped. There were very few among my fellow students at the university who

could really enjoy the Greek and Latin poets as they ought to enjoy them. Among the twenty with whom I was passed to the university there were but three who could do it, who could really get the benefit of the old poets and philosophers from the originals. The others had to study very hard, and yet they could not in after years use their study of Greek and Latin for their amusement or for their moral or ideal improvement, because they did not know the languages well enough.

The study of these classical languages is a waste of time, sir, which was invented in old Europe, at a time when there was no other means of general culture of the mind, and it has been continued to our day, because in Europe, government, and the church, and society are prone to hold up old-time distinctions of classes. A learned class may be most easily distinguished from an unlearned class, either by being able to use a few Latin and Greek terms for technical purposes, or by being able to quote a few of the famous sayings of the poets, and thereby be distinguished from the common people. This is not as it ought to be in a free republic, such as the United States. It is not being done in Switzerland, where they could have it if they wanted it. I wonder, therefore, that the idea of Latin and Greek, as necessary for all the higher professions, should be advocated to such an extent as it is in this country.

#### SANITARY SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS.

But a great many other things ought to be introduced into the higher schools. It is, in these times, almost barbarous not to have a full course of sanitary science introduced into all our higher schools. I have in my schools begun to teach hygiene in a simple way to children of ten years of age; they understand quite well what preparation they must make to preserve them in good health, and what it is necessary to do for the development of their limbs and their bodies. They understand a good deal of it at ten years of age; but a good deal of hygiene and sanitary science ought to be gone over with every man, and especially with every woman.

Speaking of women here, I would insist that every young girl, when she has reached her maturity, should become an auxiliary kindergartner for a year at least, where she would be instructed how to educate very young children according to the ideas which Fröbel has given. It is an excellent thing. I have trained more than thirty kindergartners. I regret to say that very few of them are yet in the profession. Most of them are married; but they are happily married, I assure you; they are good wives and good mothers, and know how to educate their children in the way that they ought to be educated. I think I have done more good in that line than in many others that seem of greater magnitude. I can testify to the fact that such a course of instruction would be of great benefit, not only for the female sex, but for mankind at large. If mothers know how to deal with the tenderest child, how to appreciate the time when they must begin these exercises, which develop the health and mind of a child, it helps to develop, not only the child, but the mother.

#### NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS.

I come now to another point: I would mention as something to be introduced into the high school, namely, natural science, in all its principles and bearings, in connection with a certain amount of applied or practical exercise. It is almost impossible nowadays for a man to be

educated unless he understands the general laws of nature for a great many practical technical arts and sciences—a basis which cannot be replaced by anything else. If you learn all these things by the book, you do not know them. The only way to learn natural science is to practice it, to analyze, to experiment, to synthesize, to try every kind of inquisition with all bodies and all forms of matter, and to reduce everything down to mathematical certainty and calculation. I would devote a good deal of time, therefore, to natural science, practically taught, so that every child at sixteen or seventeen years of age would be a real scientist—not “crammed” or overcrowded with useless knowledge, as is now the practice of the schools, but with a practical understanding of the effects of each law, and with the practical possibility of evolving principles in their mathematical relation—in other words, to make *constructors* of men and women—to make them more than mere seers—to make them thinkers and builders. It can be done in a few years if the children have been brought up as I have described from the kindergarten by the use of all the faculties of the mind and of the body, by training the eye and the hand and all the senses through object lessons, through acquaintance with living things, through practices continued in the elementary school and in all kinds of work. This is a continuation of the kindergarten work on a higher scale, and later, in a scientific and practical manner in the higher schools. That is my idea as to a school in the later and better development of society when the means are at hand for its introduction and proper development.

#### MODEL WORKING SCHOOL—DR. FELIX ADLER'S.

But the question is, “How far can we go now?” I will preface my consideration of that question with the remark that we have here in New York a model school to which I may refer without being obliged to speak of myself. Dr. Felix Adler has continued kindergarten work in a working school in which only poor children are received, and they gratuitously. The gratuitous feature of the institution has a double purpose. It wards off the objections of parents as to having their children educated in a form to suit their own ideas, which may be the worst form for the children, and which, in any case, is nonsensical, because a teacher in a school composed of more than ten or twenty students cannot individualize so much as to have special care of any one child all the time.

The other purpose of this feature is that children who come there to be taught gratuitously are willing to stay through the full course of teaching, which is eight years. They are taken in upon that condition. American children are generally so educated that they are independent before their time. They say to their parents, “I do not want to go to this or that school;” “I want to learn this or that thing”; and “I do not want to learn this or that other thing.” The parents acquiesce in this fancy of the child, and they let them run their own course in education. In this way there is no real education possible. Felix Adler, therefore, properly insisted upon it that only the children of poor parents would be received, because those parents would be grateful for the benefit which the children would obtain, and they would be governed by this requirement, and would not be governed by the children, because, of course, they would be very glad to see their children well educated.

These are conditions necessary for success, otherwise success would be impossible. He has been carrying this idea beyond the kindergarten for four years past. All his children who have come to the working school have gone through the kindergarten for two years, and then the

kindergarten exercises are continued in the working school. One-half of the time they learn by book, but more by object teaching than by book; the other half of the time they practice what they learn. They are taught, of course, to read, write, and cipher; but all this in a very different manner from the conventional manner. It is all objective. The children have to find their own rules for their practice. Arithmetic, for instance, is taught not in the common fashion, but in the earliest stages, in the kindergarten; is taught objectively by getting the children to count the corners and angles of all geometrical bodies which they have at hand. They must see what they count. They are enabled to reckon in fractions simply from seeing bodies divided into fractional parts.

All this is done in such a way as not to burden the memory but to be a natural result of sight and feeling.

#### THE MEMORY OVER-BURDENED; THE THINKING FACULTY STARVED.

The want of success in our present method of education is that memory is burdened too much, and the thinking faculty is neglected almost entirely. This is ruining the minds of children. The food, not being palatable, is not digested. It is with the mind as with the body, that which is put into it will be digested, if taken in reasonable quantities, and if taken at the time when there is a natural appetite for it, provided no more is given until that has been digested and the appetite has returned. That which has been taken in must not be rendered useless by giving too much at a time. It must be worked out, as it were, by muscular exercise so as to create new cells. That which you acquire by heart is as much ballast as the ballast you have in a ship—you throw it out again when you can load in money or other valuable things. You have not learned it really by heart. You have learned it from necessity, because you wanted to meet the requirements of an examination with its marks and its record kept by the teacher, and these marks and this record are made more account of than the knowledge and science involved. This is a mere mechanical training, and since the education of the thinking faculty is neglected, it cannot conduce to the making of real scientists; it does not make real self-thinkers or self-governors.

#### EFFECTS OF NEWSPAPER READING.

If it be true, and it certainly is true, that the American people consist to a very great extent of intelligent people, it comes rather from the steady and continued habit of newspaper reading and the reading of books outside of school, than anything that is gained in the schools. And it is one of the best and most instructive customs which the Americans have, to have intercourse with even small children, but especially with youths. Whatever children learn, of self-thinking, is a real acquisition, and in the practical business of life, when the children are obliged to leave the paternal home, as many of them are obliged to do in order to earn a livelihood for themselves, their minds are sharpened by conversation and contact with others, it is in such conversation and contact that they really learn to exercise the faculty of thinking.

#### KINDERGARTENS ATTACHED TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

If you ask me what might be done now, I would say that there might be done here what has been done in the city of Saint Louis. Mr. William T. Harris, who was at one time superintendent of the public schools

of Saint Louis, being a man much inclined to German ways of teaching, had a letter addressed to me requesting that I should give him my experience as to kindergartening for all classes of children—to make it a common education. I detailed my plan, and he has, in four years' reports, gratefully acknowledged what had been performed in pursuance of that plan in the public schools of Saint Louis. They had a very excellent lady at the head of the kindergarten institution of that city—Miss Blow, a daughter of one of the Senators of the State of Missouri. She was an educated kindergartener, having studied the system in Germany. There were enough kindergartens established in Saint Louis to enable every child to be educated in that system preparatory to going to the public school.

Q. The kindergarten system of Saint Louis, then, is the plan which you recommend?—A. Yes; but I have not seen much of it of late. Miss Blow is not any longer at the head of it. Mr. Harris is no longer there, and I can, therefore, only speak of what I know of its achievements in former years. Great changes take place in educational matters here in a short time.

#### POLITICAL INTERFERENCE WITH TEACHERS.

During the period that I have been a member of the American Teachers' Association I have seen more than six of the best educators of the country ousted by political nobodies—by school boards who did not understand anything of that with which they were charged to deal, in a public capacity. There was Mr. Rickoff, of Cleveland, who first reformed all the schools of Cincinnati, where he was occupied for seventeen years, and later for seven years, or more, in Cleveland. He was obliged to leave, and is now superintendent of public schools in the city of Yonkers, in this State. There was Mr. Wickersham, the State school superintendent of Pennsylvania; he had to go; I do not know why. There was Mr. Northrup, superintendent of public schools of Connecticut. I do not know whether he is yet in office, but whatever the politicians could do to oust him, they have been doing. So it was with Mr. William T. Harris himself, who was superintendent of public schools of Saint Louis; he has preferred to go. I do not know whether Mr. Edmund Ruffner, of Virginia, the State superintendent of public schools, is yet in office. I have not heard of him for some time. But the politicians have fastened upon this public school system as a means of promoting their personal ends, and they very well understand how to get rid of real reforming educators. An illustration of this was given in Boston a short time ago. So you see how difficult it is in our days, before a new state of society is introduced, to reform schooling.

#### NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION.

I fully agree with the idea that the National Congress should give national aid to education. I approve of a law which would devote a number of million dollars every year to the education of the children of the South, and in all States where education is now neglected, and in proportion to the population of the State, for such length of time as shall be necessary—say, for ten years. I have always been in favor of such a law, and have always voted for it in the educational assemblies of this country. It has been before Congress now for, I think, twelve years. It has been so little favored, however, that it is still before Congress, and I think that it is not any farther advanced than it was years ago. Now, what else may be done?

## TAXATION OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

It is a very serious question, I admit, to interfere directly with parochial schools. In fact, I consider it nearly impossible. But, sir, why should we let them go free of taxation? If they establish schools that are at enmity with the public schools, why should they not be taxed? They are trying to spoil the public schools by withdrawing the Catholic children from them, and sometimes, also, Protestant children. Why should we favor these religious institutions by remitting taxation in their case? They should be taxed, and that is something which could be done without being open in any way to the criticism of interfering with religion itself.

## A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY FOR THE UNITED STATES.

I now come to a point that I consider of the highest importance. It would be a very great, good thing to have a university of the United States, for reasons which are apparent to every educator, and have often been touched upon by the philological and educational conferences of this country.

We have more than 300 colleges in the United States, and we have not one single university in which everything that may be called science or art may be learned from the best of teachers, and with the best means that science and art can command—not one! Even the richest endowed universities—those of Harvard, Yale, Cornell, the University of Michigan, and the State University of California—are not up to the demands of the times. Why should your young men, when twenty-one years old, go to Europe and spend a great deal of money for what they might have here for nothing at first hands and from the very best of teachers? You could have here the most brilliant professors of Germany, England, or France, to teach in a university of the United States. They would answer such a call with delight, and you would, of course, give them a proper salary. It would be an honor to be a professor in such a university. You would have the very best men in their several specialties in the world, and could make it a condition that no pupil should be admitted who, upon examination, was found not to be up to the demands of the university. You could require that merit should be the test of admission. The great difficulty now is, that each one of the 300 colleges that we have in the United States demands students for the sake of keeping up their own lives and meeting the necessary expenses of the institutions. The consequence is that they admit a majority of unripe pupils. They take them because they must get the money. Their funds are not sufficient to enable them to pay proper salaries to the professors or to pay for the instruments and apparatus necessary in a proper or complete course of instruction. Concentrate these 300 colleges into one for each State, and a great one for the United States, and you will have the means at once to make of each of these institutions as much as any German university is worth; and with the additional privilege that there will be free teaching for the first time in the history of the world, except, indeed, in Switzerland; real freedom of speech for the professors, real independence of mind, so that they can teach what is really science, and not what is approved or permitted “by authority”—a compromise between science and religion, with a little politics thrown in.

A university of the United States is a great desideratum. The teachers know how useful it would be, and so do the philologists. But the

idea is hooted down by the majority of the people. Yet what better thing could the United States do than to establish an institution which should be a representative of the highest development in every branch of science and art, and thus show what mankind can do in a really free state. It is a grand idea. It is a pity that it must be postponed for, perhaps, decades of years, in order to prepare the public mind for it. Political parties, as at present organized, are opposed to granting means for such an institution—at least one of the old parties is; the other sometimes talks of it; but whether it is in earnest about it I do not know.

I think I have said all that I had desired to say to the committee; but shall be glad to answer any questions which may be put to me, whether in connection with the political, economic, or educational views which I have presented.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we may be satisfied with the presentation of your views. Your comprehensive and valuable statement in reference to education is so plain as to hardly need further elucidation. If, however, there are any further observations which you would like to offer, the committee will be glad to hear them. Have you stated all that occurs to you?

The WITNESS. I have touched upon each of the propositions I had in mind. Of course, it would be impossible to exhaust the subjects.

Adjourned.

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